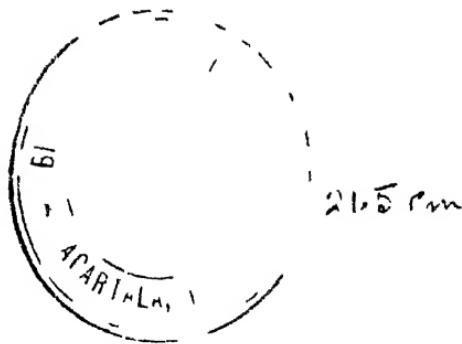


*Pakistan's Foreign Policy*

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AN APPRAISAL

SANGAT SINGH



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To my father  
**S. SARDAR SINGH**



## Preface

SINCE 1947, Pakistan's foreign policy has gone through several phases of development, responding to the changing pattern of relationship with the big powers and the varying political alignments within the country.

In the first phase, it was an independent foreign policy in the sense that Pakistan was not formally aligned to this or that bloc. But her built-in alliance with Britain, coupled with a favourable Western attitude on Kashmir vis-a-vis India, and the fact that she was a suspect in the Communist world, all combined to tilt Pakistan's orientation towards the West.

In 1954, the second phase started with a formal alignment with the West, which, paradoxically, coincided with the establishment of a dialogue with China. The meeting of the Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan at Bandung was historic, because it gave them the first ever opportunity to understand each other. It was almost a decade later that Pakistan could put through her case to the Soviet Union.

Pakistan's foreign policy entered its third phase with the Sino-Indian border clashes. It was a policy of dual alignment. While clinging to the benefits accruing from her alignment with the West, Pakistan strengthened her informal relationship with China. This paradoxical twist of diplomacy, tolerated to some extent by the West, reached its climax during the Indo-Pakistan conflict. The Soviet Union came on the scene in a big way in the wake of the Tashkent Declaration.

Pakistan is now striving to strike a balance between the interests of the big and medium powers, often working at cross purposes. The first two chapters of this book give a detailed account of the determinant factors of Pakistan's foreign policy and explain certain time-worn cliches used by Pakistani leaders, e.g. the terms "national security and survival" and "India's non-reconciliation to the very existence of Pakistan." The pages reveal how the determinant

factors have forced Pakistani leaders to a one-track negative line in external relations.

The next three chapters trace Pakistan's relations with the big powers, and show how the negative approach, which has served as the lynchpin of her foreign policy, has guided her from one posture to another. Pakistan's approach is flexible and pragmatic, suiting the changes in the world situation.

A chapter is devoted to the recent phase of her external relationships and the study is brought to a close by a surmise as to the possible basic factors which can put Pakistan on a positive course in world affairs.

Some of the material, e.g. the private papers of Sir Samuel Hoare (India Office Library, London), showing that the British blueprint of Pakistan with a divided Punjab and divided Kashmir was ready in the early thirties, has been brought to light for the first time.

The views expressed in the book are my own, and I am fully responsible for them.

SANGAT SINGH

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

# **The Determinant Factors—I Inner Compulsions**

THE foreign policy of Pakistan has been determined by national self-interests, enlightened or not, as conceived by her leaders. The geo-political factors, political aspirations and the need for economic development have played their role. Of much more importance have been the special factors, viz. the ideology and commitments made during the struggle for Pakistan, the sort of equation established by the Muslim League leaders with the ex-colonial power before and after formation of Pakistan and the mode of achieving independence. Besides, the foreign policy was tailored to Pakistan's domestic needs. It symbolised, in particular, the validity of her internal policies and served as a useful distraction from her internal anxieties.

### **HOW PAKISTAN WAS ACHIEVED**

In the case of Pakistan, two special determinants which went into the formulation of her foreign policy need be highlighted. First, that it was mainly a British-propaganda movement designed to contain, and if possible to counterpoise, the momentum of India's freedom struggle.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding the counter-pulls, the British visualised that India was bound to be free and, if united, would by its own right be a power to reckon with in Asia. They also had no doubts about the independent outlook of new India to the detriment of

<sup>1</sup> Richard V. Weeks, *Pakistan, Birth and Growth of a Muslim Nation*, New Jersey, 1964, back of the cover: "Indeed, religion is the very basis upon which the country was conceived and established by Britain." According to a Pakistani intellectual, Dr. Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan, the Formative Phase*, Karachi, 1960, p. 6, "The creation of Pakistan was probably helped by British unwillingness to compose the differences between the Hindus and Muslims."